United Nations S/2012/887

Security Council

Distr.: General
27 November 2012

Original: English

Report of the Secretary-General on the restoration of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau

I. Introduction

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 2048 (2012), by which the Council requested me to submit regular reports every 90 days on the implementation of that resolution, including on the restoration and respect of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau, as well as the humanitarian situation in the country. The present report covers major developments since my last report of 12 September 2012 (S/2012/704).

II. Restoration and respect of constitutional order

A. Political situation

1. Overview of the political situation in the country

2. The overall political situation in the country remained relatively unchanged during the reporting period. Little progress was made in arriving at an inclusive transitional arrangement involving all political actors or in developing a consensual road map towards the full restoration of constitutional order in the country. Moreover, there was a marked deterioration in the security situation in the country in the aftermath of the armed attack on the airborne regiment of the military located at the Bissalanca air force base in Bissau on 21 October.

3. The consultations initiated by Transitional President Serifo Nhamadjo with political parties in the National Assembly, including the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), with the aim of promoting an inclusive transition continued to bear little fruit. Nor were similar initiatives by PAIGC with representatives of other political parties and civil society successful. Meanwhile, some supporters of the transition, including the Party for Social Renewal (PRS), the second largest party in Parliament, opposed these initiatives on the basis that PAIGC was amply represented in the transitional structures. Speaking to the youth wing of his party on 14 September, the PRS leader, Koumba Yalá, cautioned against any attempt by PAIGC to change the current transitional arrangements.

4. On 15 September, the Frente Nacional Anti-Golpe (FRENAGOLPE), a coalition of parties and organizations opposed to the coup d'état of 12 April, accused the

Please recycle

de facto authorities of planning to silence opposition leaders, including its members, for their statements denouncing the increase in drug trafficking in the country. On 28 September, the Executive Secretary of FRENAGOLPE claimed that the coalition had collected nearly 100,000 signatures as part of a campaign to seek the return of the leaders deposed in April. On the same day, however, the PAIGC national secretariat called for the suspension of the activities of FRENAGOLPE on the basis that these activities were not consistent with the efforts of PAIGC towards achieving a rapprochement with the de facto authorities.

5. Despite the political tensions arising from the attempts by deposed interim President Raimundo Pereira and Transitional President Serifo Nhamadjo to address the general debate of the sixty-seventh session of the General Assembly in New York, the two leaders met briefly on 29 September in New York under the auspices of the African Union. Subsequently, their Foreign Ministers held a closed-door meeting at the offices of the African Union in New York, during which they agreed that: (a) a joint mission comprised of the African Union, the United Nations, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) and the European Union should be deployed to Guinea-Bissau; (b) national stakeholders should hold an inclusive dialogue; and (c) the African Union and the United Nations should facilitate a meeting in Addis Ababa with the participation of representatives of the two parties.

6. However, at a press conference on 5 October, the Transitional Foreign Minister played down prospects of a meeting in Addis Ababa, arguing that there was nothing to discuss since the Transitional Government had been formed to facilitate a return to constitutional order. He also accused the United Nations of having abandoned Guinea-Bissau and of not playing a conciliation role.

7. On 21 October, the de facto authorities issued a communiqué in which they announced that the armed forces had repelled an attack by a group of armed men against the airborne regiment located at the Bissalanca air force base in Bissau, leaving six people dead. In the communiqué, the de facto authorities stated that two individuals were captured while several others were at large. They also described the attack as an attempt to destabilize the country and return deposed Prime Minister Carlos Gomes Júnior to power and accused the members of CPLP, particularly Portugal and Cape Verde, of being behind the attack and of promoting instability in the country to justify a military force mandated by the United Nations.

8. On 22 October, the Transitional Prime Minister informed the diplomatic corps in Bissau that the attack of 21 October had been carried out by "foreigners" led by a military officer from Guinea-Bissau, Captain Pansau N'Tchama, who had served under both General António Indjai, the current Army Chief of General Staff, and Vice-Admiral Zamora Induta, the Army Chief of General Staff overthrown in the mutiny of 1 April 2010. Moreover, in a communiqué issued on 28 October following an extraordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers, the de facto authorities demanded an explanation from Lisbon of Captain N'Tchama's "terrorist" expedition, and expressed reservations about future relations with CPLP. The de facto authorities also warned international representations in Bissau that protection of "terrorists" would not be tolerated.

9. The attack of 21 October was condemned by national, regional and international stakeholders, including PRS, the Civil Society Movement for Peace, Democracy and Development, the Catholic Church, the United Nations and other

international partners, including CPLP, the African Union and ECOWAS. On 22 October, the Government of Portugal called for a peaceful resolution to the problems of Guinea-Bissau through an inclusive political process, in accordance with Security Council resolution 2048 (2012), and stressed that there could be no military solution. On 24 October, in a communiqué issued by what was described as the "exiled Government" of Guinea-Bissau, the attack was condemned and the United Nations called upon to set up a commission of inquiry into the deaths of the six persons killed. In the communiqué, the "exiled Government" also called for the urgent creation of an international criminal tribunal for Guinea-Bissau and an international military force for the country.

10. On 24 October, following a meeting of the Council of Ministers, chaired by the Transitional President, the spokesperson for the de facto authorities informed a press conference that the first five months of the transition had been "extremely difficult", but that the de facto authorities had been able to pay salaries and would continue to do so. He blamed, inter alia, an unfavourable export market for cashew nuts, the suspension of a fishing agreement with the European Union and an overall slowdown in economic activity in the country for the financial challenges being faced by the de facto authorities. He noted that non-recognition of the de facto authorities and suspension of assistance by some countries had exacerbated the problem, adding that elections could not be held without support from the country's international partners.

2. Overview of the human rights situation in the country

11. The human rights situation deteriorated markedly during the reporting period. Following the armed attack of 21 October, reports of serious human rights violations, including torture and summary executions, increased. There are concerns that the rights to life, personal security, physical security, physical integrity, private property and access to justice, as well as the rights to freedom of assembly, opinion and information, are continuing to be violated. In addition, some elements of the Felupe-Djola ethnic group who have been accused of allegedly supporting the attack have been the target of human rights abuses, including reports of harassment, torture and killings.

12. The country's military and intelligence services have mounted security operations, including house-to-house searches, in sections of Bissau and other parts of the country, reportedly to capture those linked to the alleged attack. They also abducted and tortured the leader of FRENAGOLPE, Iancuba Djola N'djai, and the leader of the Guinean Democratic Movement, Silvestre Alves, who had both cautioned the authorities against making unsubstantiated statements about the attack. Furthermore, they conducted searches for former Secretary of State and PAIGC member, Tomás Barbosa, accused of collusion in the alleged attack of 21 October, and another politician, Ibraima Sow, both of whom went into hiding. These actions have led to a pervasive atmosphere of fear and insecurity in the country. On 23 October, the spokesperson of the de facto authorities condemned the illegal detentions and assaults as flagrantly violating the Constitution. On the same day, the armed forces issued a statement denying involvement in the unlawful beatings and affirming their commitment to protecting the fundamental rights of citizens. Mr. N'djai and Mr. Alves, who were severely beaten and required intensive medical treatment, were evacuated to Dakar on 25 October and to Lisbon on 27 October, respectively.

13. On 27 October, the military sealed off the island of Bolama during a military operation in which Captain N'Tchama was captured. During the operation, four civilians who were found with Captain N'Tchama were killed and two military officers were detained. The military also conducted house searches, physically assaulted civilians and forced some of them to join in the search operations. During this exercise, one civilian was reportedly killed and three others were reportedly tortured before being summarily executed. Their bodies were left on the shore and buried by their families in the same spot. One of the two men who allegedly helped transport Captain N'Tchama to Bolama, a member of the military, has also been reported missing.

14. Following the operation, the spokesperson of the armed forces, Daba Na Walna, told the press that Captain N'Tchama had planned to kill the Army Chief of General Staff and his staff on the orders of Vice-Admiral Zamora Induta, who was allegedly in the Gambia. He also stated that a former Deputy Navy Chief of Staff, Major Jorge Sambu, had been arrested on suspicion of having participated in the attack.

15. On 10 November, the chief of the Portuguese Television (RTP) bureau in Bissau left the country after the spokesperson of the de facto authorities requested RTP to replace him, alleging that he had "clearly deviated" from the objectives under which the bureau had been authorized. This case fuelled fears of attempts to curtail freedom of the press.

16. The National Civil Society Movement for Peace, Democracy and Development (MSC) and the Guinea-Bissau Human Rights League (LGDH) have condemned the human rights violations in the country and urged the national authorities to comply with their obligations and address impunity in cases of persecution and violation of physical integrity. MSC has also appealed to the de facto authorities and the armed forces to jointly establish a commission of inquiry to investigate all crimes related to the attack of 21 October, while LGDH has appealed to the international community to coordinate efforts, with a view to resolving the problems in the country, in particular combating institutionalized impunity and permanent instability.

3. Efforts at national, regional and international levels towards the restoration and respect of constitutional order

17. During the period under review, my Special Representative continued actively to pursue consultations with national stakeholders aimed at generating a nationally driven dialogue to bridge internal divisions and find consensus on the conditions necessary for a peaceful transition and post-transition. In this context, on 19 September, he met with religious leaders who expressed their commitment to promoting and facilitating wider and inclusive national dialogue with political and civil society leaders. They emphasized the importance of maintaining their independence and resisting national and international pressures. Pursuant to their request for technical assistance, the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS) agreed to provide facilitation skills training to a core group drawn from the various congregations.

18. On 4 October, the Voz di Paz (Voice of Peace) grassroots participatory dialogue initiative organized a one-day reflection workshop with political and civil society actors on the theme "Transition: what future for Guinea-Bissau?", in partnership with the Swiss international non-governmental organization, Interpeace. Participants

unanimously rejected a transition solely aimed at organizing fresh elections and called on Voz di Paz and other national stakeholders to continue to reflect on modalities through which the transition could help put an end to the vicious cycle of political and military violence.

19. My Special Representative also continued to host fortnightly meetings of international partners based in Bissau to exchange information and coordinate actions among international partners. Following a meeting on 1 November, he issued a joint statement on behalf of the international partners, reaffirming their readiness to support national efforts towards a genuine and inclusive dialogue aimed at creating a political and security environment conducive to a peaceful transition that would end with elections and mark the return to constitutional order.

20. On 14 November, UNIOGBIS organized a meeting of representatives of the National Conference Organizing Commission, Voz di Paz and religious leaders, to facilitate the synergizing of various dialogue initiatives. During the meeting, participants exchanged views on their group's objectives and possible areas of collaboration and agreed on the need for mutual support and collaboration.

21. On 16 November, Voz di Paz launched its appeal for a social contract, which was attended by the Transitional President, the Auxiliary Bishop of Bissau (representing the religious leaders) and military officials, as well as representatives of several civil society organizations, political parties and the international community. Following a briefing on past political transitions in the country, Voz di Paz called on national stakeholders to use the transitional period to make changes that would help resolve the political and military structural problems in the country, even if this meant a longer transitional process.

22. On 15 November, the first ordinary session of the 2012/13 parliamentary year was officially launched. In his opening address, the acting Speaker of the National Assembly, Ibraima Sory Djaló, stressed the need for the National Assembly to resume its work and highlighted the important role of parliamentarians in finding solutions to the political crisis. He acknowledged the necessity of including all national stakeholders in efforts to overcome internal obstacles to resolving the crisis and particularly appealed to PAIGC and PRS to play a positive role. In his statement, the Transitional President referred to the critical legislative role of the National Assembly in the transition and called for unity in diversity. The agenda of the session, which will end on 15 December 2012, includes the filling of vacancies in the parliamentary bureau, amendments to the electoral law, the extension of the mandate of the National Assembly and the election of a new President of the National Electoral Commission to replace the previous incumbent, Desejado Lima da Costa, who died in Lisbon on 23 October. It is noteworthy that, following a meeting between the Transitional President and delegations of PAIGC and PRS on 16 October, the Secretary-General of PRS stated that replacing acting Speaker Sory Djaló of the PRS, who is the Second Deputy Speaker, was out of the question as he was occupying this post as a "constitutional imperative". On 20 November, parliamentarians approved the extension of the mandate of the National Assembly until the swearing in of newly elected parliamentarians.

23. International efforts to bridge divergences between Guinea-Bissau's international partners over the next steps towards the restoration of constitutional order in the country continued. At its eleventh extraordinary session, held on 24 September in New York, the CPLP Council of Ministers reaffirmed the following

as guiding principles for possible dialogue with ECOWAS: (a) compliance with international legality; (b) adherence to the country's constitutional framework; (c) a politically inclusive process, involving PAIGC that "guarantees the return, in security, of citizens Carlos G. Júnior, the candidate with the most votes at the first round of the elections, and Raimundo Pereira, interim President at the time of the coup d'état". In this regard, the CPLP Council of Ministers instructed its Executive Secretary to meet with the Chair of ECOWAS in the margins of the sixty-seventh session of the General Assembly to discuss the situation in Guinea-Bissau and make recommendations on ways of resolving the crisis.

24. On 28 September, the Peace and Security Council of the African Union and the Department of Political Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat co-chaired a meeting of representatives of the African Union, ECOWAS, CPLP and the European Union in New York, aimed at harmonizing the positions of international partners on the way forward for Guinea-Bissau in accordance with Security Council resolution 2048 (2012). The meeting concluded that the African Union and the United Nations would continue to facilitate efforts to bridge the differences between international partners on the steps needed to ensure the full restoration of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau and that the next such meeting would be convened in Addis Ababa. The following day, the African Union hosted in New York a meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the deposed Government and the de facto authorities, following a brief exchange between deposed interim President Raimundo Pereira and Transitional President Serifo Nhamadjo. The Ministers agreed on the deployment of a joint mission to Guinea-Bissau and on the need for an inclusive dialogue and a follow-up meeting in Addis Ababa that would be jointly facilitated by the African Union and the United Nations.

25. On 9 October, my Special Representative briefed representatives of the diplomatic community accredited to Guinea-Bissau, with residence in Dakar, on developments on the ground and coordination efforts. They raised serious concerns over the lack of progress in the ongoing transition and reiterated the need to implement the ECOWAS decision taken in June 2012 in Yamoussoukro for political actors and civil society to work together to achieve a truly inclusive Government in order to ensure a consensual transition. Furthermore, they highlighted the vital importance of an enabling security environment and a genuine and inclusive dialogue among all stakeholders in Guinea-Bissau to ensure consensus and the necessary compromise on the way forward to restoring constitutional order.

26. On 18 October, my Special Representative and the African Union Special Representative and Head of the African Union liaison office in Guinea-Bissau, Ovidio Pequeno, visited Luanda at the request of the Angolan authorities for consultations on Guinea-Bissau. They met with the Angolan Minister of External Relations, Georges Chikoti, and other Government officials with whom they discussed modalities for enhancing the engagement of Angola in support of Guinea-Bissau, in particular stepping up consultations with ECOWAS with a view to adopting a consensual approach to resolving challenges in the country. The Angolan authorities also indicated their readiness to continue to work both within the framework of CPLP and bilaterally to foster cooperation with Guinea-Bissau and end the continuing crisis.

27. Meanwhile, following its meeting of 2 November, the Peace and Security Council of the African Union issued a communiqué in which it stressed the need for

continued regional and international efforts to consolidate the progress made in the search for a lasting solution to the prevailing situation in Guinea-Bissau and urged the parties in Guinea-Bissau to uphold public peace and the interest of the people of Guinea-Bissau and to show the spirit of restraint and compromise required for addressing the country's multifaceted challenges. It also endorsed the dispatch of the joint mission to Bissau proposed by the Foreign Ministers of the deposed Government and the de facto authorities and agreed to meet again to review the situation in detail on the basis of a comprehensive report of the Chairperson of the Commission to be submitted to the Council within 60 days.

28. For their part, ECOWAS Heads of State and Government discussed the situation in Guinea-Bissau on 11 November in Abuja, following which they issued a communiqué in which they instructed the ECOWAS Commission to expedite action on the joint assessment mission to Guinea-Bissau, which they viewed as an important step in consensus-building at the international level. In addition, they encouraged Guinea-Bissau's partners to pool their efforts to strengthen the transition and ensure the credibility of the process leading to the holding of elections by April 2013. They also called upon the African Union to recognize the Transitional Government in Guinea-Bissau, established with the facilitation of ECOWAS, and urged the African Union to suspend the sanctions imposed on Guinea-Bissau as an encouragement to the transitional authorities and in recognition of the progress the country continues to make towards forging a more inclusive transitional Government.

4. Efforts towards a democratic electoral process

29. On 3 October, the Council of Ministers of the de facto authorities held a meeting to discuss preparations for the general elections, which they expect will be held in March 2013. The Transitional Minister of Economy, who had been instructed to open a restricted public tender on biometric voter registration for interested companies, reported that 16 companies had expressed interest and advised that six to seven months would be required to complete all the phases of biometric voter registration. At the meeting, the Council endorsed a decision of the Transitional Prime Minister to create a commission to ensure the security of the electoral process.

30. In a meeting with UNIOGBIS on 31 October, the Transitional Minister of Territorial Administration confirmed the timetable of the de facto authorities for elections in March 2013. However, he indicated that financial constraints, lack of support from international partners and political uncertainties could force a review of the timetable. He also stated that the electoral boundary mapping in the country's eight regions had been completed. Finally, he advised that he had consulted three parliamentary political parties, namely PAIGC, PRS and the Republican Party for Independence and Development, on several issues linked to the electoral law and the functioning of the National Assembly.

B. Security situation

31. The military erected checkpoints in the regions of Bafatá, Quebo and Gabú in the weeks preceding the National Day on 24 September, which they described as precautionary measures. On the day of the celebrations, which were organized by the armed forces, there was a strong security presence of the forces of the ECOWAS

Mission in Guinea-Bissau (ECOMIB) around the venue, although they did not participate in the military parade. The Transitional President chaired the celebrations in the presence of the Chief of Defence Staff of Côte d'Ivoire, the Deputy Chief of Defence Staff of Burkina Faso and the Air Force Chief of Staff of Senegal. Promotions, historically a source of tensions within the military, were not announced, contrary to the expectations of the military.

32. Very weak law enforcement capacity in Guinea-Bissau continued to provide organized criminal groups with an avenue for the unchallenged use of the territory as a transit point for international drug trafficking. Allegedly, this happens with the support of members of the defence and security forces, as well as members of the political elite. This has led to the unabated spread of cocaine trafficking in Guinea-Bissau. International intelligence suggests that cocaine trafficking is taking place on a weekly or biweekly basis, without any interference from Government officials. It also suggests that the modus operandi is to transport the drugs into the country either in small aircraft that land at clandestine landing sites or in vessels that berth along the coastline. It is believed that hundreds of kilograms of cocaine are trafficked in each single attempt. Organized criminal activities in the country constitute an additional threat to the rule of law, internal stability and the full restoration of constitutional order. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime delivered a special training module on money-laundering and terrorism financing to magistrates and law enforcement personnel on 28 September. The objective of the training session, which was organized by the Financial Intelligence Unit in Guinea-Bissau, was to enhance the response of national institutions to money-laundering linked with organized crime and drug trafficking in the subregion.

33. Following the attack of 21 October, makeshift checkpoints, manned by security personnel in civilian clothes, were set up to search and control vehicles entering the Penha area of Bissau, where many embassies and UNIOGBIS are located. A few United Nations vehicles were unlawfully searched by national defence and security forces and some United Nations national and international staff were intimidated by the Guinea-Bissau intelligence and security authorities. At a meeting with my Special Representative, on 30 October, the Transitional President attempted to justify the measures taken by stating that the country was going through exceptional times. The checkpoints were subsequently removed, although security surveillance of the area remained. In this context, it is significant to note that the Prosecutor General, who took office on 27 August, has not initiated investigations into the attack of 21 October and its aftermath. Instead, on 23 October, he issued a decree delegating authority for conducting investigations related to the attack and subsequent events to the military.

34. During the period under review, UNIOGBIS maintained open channels of communication with representatives of national institutions related to security sector reform, including the police, the permanent secretariat of the Security Sector Reform Steering Committee, the armed forces and the judiciary. UNIOGBIS also maintained regular working-level contacts with international counterparts involved in security sector reform, with a view to fostering information exchange and coordination on the governance of security sector reform.

35. On 7 November, the President of the ECOWAS Commission, Kadré Désiré Ouédraogo, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the de facto authorities, Faustino Fudut Imbali, signed a memorandum of understanding

on the implementation of the security sector reform road map that had been endorsed by ECOWAS and CPLP in 2011. The memorandum covers security sector reform projects estimated to cost approximately $63 million. It provides support for the special pension fund for retired military and police personnel, the initial demobilization of defence and security forces, training, the protection of State institutions, the establishment and protection of judicial commissions of inquiry and the refurbishment of military infrastructure.

36. Following a meeting of its Heads of State and Government in Abuja on 11 November, ECOWAS issued a communiqué in which it expressed appreciation to the ECOMIB troops and the troop-contributing countries for their efforts in Guinea-Bissau. It also decided to extend the mandate of ECOMIB, the initial six-month term of which was due to end on 17 November, by another six months.

III. Socioeconomic and humanitarian situation

37. Economic growth in the country for 2012 was estimated to be less than 2.5 per cent at the end of July, against an initial forecast of 4.5 per cent in early 2012. This was mainly due to a decrease in the level of production and export of cashew nuts and a decline in public investment. In spite of efforts to mobilize internal and external resources, the overall decline in economic activity, combined with the suspension of budgetary support from international partners, led the de facto authorities to revise the budget downwards from CFAF 116.1 billion originally planned for 2012 to CFAF 100.4 billion. This could jeopardize the ability of national institutions to ensure the minimum functioning of public administration and basic social services, especially in the areas of education, health and water and sanitation.

38. On 8 October, the Ministry of Health officially declared a cholera outbreak in the country, with the first two cases detected on 26 August, including one death. As at 21 November, 2,563 cases and 20 deaths had been registered, mainly in Bissau and the regions of Bijagos, Biombo, Oio, Quinara and Tombali. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organization (WHO) have been working closely with Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders) and national stakeholders to scale up preventive and curative actions, such as the delivery of cholera kits to all nine regions, support to the cholera treatment centres, awareness-raising, waste collection, monitoring and coordination.

39. Following the suspension of disbursements from the Global Fund to Fight Aids, Tuberculosis and Malaria in August 2011, reportedly due to weaknesses in the programmes, financial mismanagement and political upheavals in the country, the United Nations joint team for HIV/AIDS supported the national secretariat for the fight against HIV/AIDS in restructuring the Global Fund project and securing funding for 2014 to 2015 for HIV-related projects through the Global Fund Transitional Funding Mechanism. The United Nations joint team is also supporting advocacy efforts to mobilize resources for urgent HIV/AIDS funding requirements.

40. On 17 September, the Ministry of Education officially opened the new 2012/13 school year earlier than usual in order to make up for time lost following the closure of most public schools prior to and after the coup of 12 April. However, the two teachers' unions, the Sindicato Nacional dos Professores (SINAPROF) and the Sindicato Democrático dos Professores (SINDEPROF), went on a 60-day strike on the same day over non-payment of salaries to certain categories of staff and

conditions of service. As a result, many public schools remained closed during the reporting period, while negotiations between the Ministry of Education and the unions continued. An agreement was finally signed with the de facto authorities on 6 November and most public schools reopened on 7 November.

IV. Travel ban

41. On 18 September, the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to Security Council resolution 2048 (2012) concerning Guinea-Bissau sent letters to the Permanent Representatives of Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal to the United Nations, seeking clarification on various reports indicating that General António Injai (otherwise known as António Indjai), one of the 11 individuals subject to the travel ban imposed under paragraph 4 of resolution 2048 (2012), might have recently travelled to Côte d'Ivoire. On 16 October, the Permanent Representative of Côte d'Ivoire to the United Nations replied to the Committee's letter confirming that General Injai had visited Abidjan on 7 August.

V. Observations

42. I remain deeply concerned over the continued lack of progress in the restoration of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau and the deterioration of the security situation following the attack of 21 October against a military base in Bissau. The country has remained paralysed, with dire consequences for the population and a worsening economic situation.

43. I deplore the persistence of diverging views, both at the national and international levels, on the way forward in resolving the political crisis in Guinea-Bissau. In this context, I strongly urge stakeholders in Guinea-Bissau, in particular the de facto authorities, the deposed leaders, political parties and civil society, to step up efforts to reach agreement on a national road map for the full restoration of constitutional order.

44. I have taken note of the technical preparations being made by the de facto authorities for the holding of presidential and legislative elections and their call to the international community for financial assistance to support these efforts. While certain technical and financial measures are essential requirements for the conduct of credible elections, a successful democratic electoral process also depends on the creation of a political, security and social environment that is conducive to peaceful elections and on a commitment by all stakeholders to accept the outcome. The current political environment, in which national stakeholders are deeply divided on the management of the transition and on the forward path for their country is not a conducive environment. In this regard, I urge the political, military and civil society leadership of Guinea-Bissau to put aside partisan interests and to engage urgently in a genuine dialogue, embracing all actors, including those in exile, in the interests of the people of Guinea-Bissau. This dialogue must conclude with the suggested road map, which must be inclusive and include clearly identified benchmarks and a timeline for credible elections marking the end of this transition.

45. Guinea-Bissau's international partners, including the African Union, ECOWAS, CPLP, the European Union and the United Nations, should redouble their efforts as

they seek to implement Security Council resolution 2048 (2012). In this regard, I have requested the Department of Political Affairs and UNIOGBIS to intensify their engagement with the African Union to push for a meeting as soon as possible in Addis Ababa between representatives of the de facto authorities and the deposed Government to agree on the next steps to restore constitutional order, consistent with resolution 2048 (2012), through the national dialogue process. In addition, the Department of Political Affairs will promote the formulation without delay, including through the proposed joint mission, of an African Union-United Nations-European Union-ECOWAS-CPLP road map in close consultation with national stakeholders in support of national efforts towards the restoration of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau, in accordance with the same resolution. To that end, I appeal to all actors to commit to synchronizing efforts to meet this objective in the interests of peace and stability in Guinea-Bissau.

46. The armed attack of 21 October and its aftermath illustrated the fragility of the political and security situation in the country and the continuing dominant role of the military in affairs of State. This situation has increased perceptions of insecurity and the inability of the State to protect the population, especially certain ethnic groups. Perceptions of ethnically based violence and domination could further jeopardize social cohesion in Guinea-Bissau, which has had a long history of peaceful coexistence between diverse ethnic groups.

47. I am particularly concerned about reports of serious human rights violations and acts of intimidation by the military, including incidents of intimidation against United Nations national and international staff and unwarranted searches of United Nations vehicles by national security forces. I am also concerned that some citizens fear being unjustly targeted by the military and thus have either gone into hiding or fled the country.

48. I strongly condemn all instances of abduction, unlawful detention, violence, intimidation and violation of freedom of speech and assembly being perpetrated by the military and defence forces in Guinea-Bissau. The de facto authorities have the responsibility to protect the physical integrity of all citizens of Guinea-Bissau, as well as to ensure the safety and security of foreigners, including members of the international community, in accordance with applicable rules of international law. The de facto authorities also have the primary responsibility to ensure the safety and security of United Nations personnel and to ensure respect for the privileges and immunities conferred upon the Organization, its personnel and property by applicable agreements, including the UNIOGBIS status-of-mission agreement that was signed on 22 November 2010. I urge them to fulfil these responsibilities.

49. I am very concerned about the continued influence of the armed forces over the country's political affairs. I exhort the leadership of the Guinea-Bissau armed forces to respect, and to ensure that all military personnel respect, civilian oversight over the defence and security sectors. I also call on them to respect the rule of law and to refrain from any action that would deny Bissau-Guineans of their human rights.

50. There is evidence of a substantial rise in drug trafficking and organized criminal activity in Guinea-Bissau since the coup of 12 April. I reiterate the call I made in my report of September 2008 (S/2008/628) to the Security Council to consider establishing a panel of experts to investigate the identity and activities of those involved in drug trafficking and organized crime in Guinea-Bissau, with the

possibility of imposing punitive, targeted sanctions to help reverse the growth in drug trafficking activities.

51. It is urgent that the de facto authorities launch credible investigations into the attack of 21 October and the activities conducted in its aftermath, with a view to ensuring that perpetrators of any illegal activities are brought to justice. As indicated in my previous reports, any lasting solution to instability in Guinea-Bissau should include concrete actions to fight impunity and ensure that those responsible for political assassinations, including those committed in 2009, and other serious crimes, such as activities related to drug trafficking and breaches of constitutional order, are brought to justice.

52. I am encouraged that the National Assembly has convened an ordinary session commencing on 15 November and that parliamentarians have approved the extension of its mandate until the swearing in of newly elected parliamentarians. I urge Guinea-Bissau's parliamentarians to work together to enable the functioning of the parliament in accordance with the country's constitution and to play their role in facilitating the early completion of the transition.

53. I commend the staff of UNIOGBIS, under the leadership of my Special Representative, Joseph Mutaboba, and the entire United Nations country team, as well as members of the broader international community and national and international non-governmental organizations, for their continued contribution to peacebuilding efforts in Guinea-Bissau. I would like to pay special tribute to Mr. Mutaboba for his commitment and service as my Special Representative to Guinea-Bissau for the past three years, often under difficult political and security conditions. I am particularly grateful for his tireless efforts aimed at ensuring that international attention, especially that of the Security Council and the Peacebuilding Commission, is paid to the challenges that face Guinea-Bissau in the political field, in combating drug trafficking, in development and in security sector reform and for working on practical solutions to address these challenges.